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844 The place of birth was in the dwelling, according to M.P., but M.L, older and more knowledgeable in aboriginal ways, insisted that [343] delivery took place in a private hut. If the separate hemispherical structure were not erected for her by her husband, she would clear out her storehouse and use it. The baking pit for use after delivery was outside the dwelling, and it may be this, rather than delivery itself, which M.L. had in mind.

At the onset of birth pains the woman got her mother or whichever female relative was to help her. They heated water. Meanwhile the husband was preparing coals, hot stones, and bark to be used in the heated pit, although he did not go near his wife during delivery. No 845 men were ever present, unless a shaman was 755 called in a case of seriously difficult parturition. A shaman gave a drink of pulverized [231] bear's claws to aid the birth. The shaman Haičača had a long bear claw to help women in parturition. He rubbed his hands on it, then on the patient. Then he blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Squatting before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come" (M.P.). But often a woman had some method of her own. M.L. had a little supernatural power; Quail was her dream helper. When aiding her daughter in labor, she called on Quail to help. Immediately some quail calls sounded near by, či ''up, či ''up, či ''up: "the baby heard them and came right out."

[787] The maternal grandmother of J.P. dreamed of a roadrunner who told her how to help women in labor. Although she was not a doctor -- "this was just her dream" -- she aided other women with her knowledge.

844 A hollow was made in the floor to one side of the fire pit. It was filled with sand or dry earth and some pieces of old tule mats laid over it. The mother squatted at its edge and pulled on two stakes driven into the ground. (These were not digging sticks.) The assistant stood behind her, pressed her head, her back, her abdomen, always with downward pressing movements. If labor were prolonged, the parturient would get up and walk about between spasms.

As the infant emerged, the assistant caught it off the mats beneath the mother, easing it onto some old deerskins. Pinching the cord about two inches from the infant's [412] body, she cut it with a cane knife and tied the stump with a piece of fine sinew. The cord and afterbirth were taken to the river and fastened to a stake so they could not float away: this prevented the child from ever being sick at its stomach (M.L.). The afterbirth was thrown in the river so the baby would never be sick, according to M.P., who added that often a girl's,

853 A child was nursed for two years, even if
862 a new baby were also nursing. Weaning was very gradual. The child was given acorn mush, and pieces of meat to suck, and "it liked those things better and wanted them all the time." Nevertheless, children up to four or so continued to seek the breast on occasion and were given satisfaction. K.G.'s little boy of five was gently pushed aside when his pawing was annoying to his mother, who was nursing an infant of some fourteen months.

861 Mothers talked to their children telling them what they must do. M.L. said naughty children were whipped. One suspects this was an innovation due to Mission influence; even today all Yokuts observed treat their children with a comfortable firmness of speech and manner which achieves satisfactory results without resorting to pushing, yanking, smacking, much less whipping, the young offenders.

844 There were certain beliefs concerning childbirth and children. It was lucky to give birth at the new moon: the child, whether male
[842] or female "would grow with the moon." If a woman was sterile, it was because she had played at intercourse with boys when she was a little girl (M.L.). M.P. attributed sterility to carelessness during menstruation: "if a girl eats meat at that time it makes something hard so there is no room for a baby." One of M.P.'s cousins was in such a condition until she "drank something" which cured her; she has had two children since. A Yaudanchi woman named O'mo "had no children because she ate too much meat" (L.).

845 Twins were not regarded as good or bad fortune, though they entailed special care, if they were to survive. If one twin died, the other was sure to. M.L. said that, if a woman had twins, her daughter or granddaughter would have them also. She had never heard of anyone, native or white, having triplets and, when told of the phenomenon, asked if it would not kill the mother. She herself expressed a physical fear of having twins.

Kinship Terms

601 The Wukchumni kinship terms have been withheld with others from this publication. As with all Yokuts, cross and parallel cousins were classed with siblings and called by the same terms. Therefore, any cousin of another relative (of the same sex) was addressed by the same term as that relative; thus, a father's sister's cousin would be addressed as father's sister, or a father's sister's cousin's child (ego's second cousin) would be called sibling.[242] Degrees of relationship beyond this (as third

[242]This made for much confusion in recording personal and genealogical data as most informants glibly used English "brother" and "sister" when speaking of actual cousins.

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755
[522] Coyote man" [i.e., of Coyote lineage] who did so (S.G.).

The methods used by the shaman Haičača were offered by J.P. and M.P. as examples of the customary curing procedure. (See also Anecdote 10 below.)

[237] Haičača had dreamed of Falcon (laːmːk). He then bought a falcon head from someone, skinned it, leaving the beak intact, and filled the skin with fine tule shreds. He hung beads on threads run through its nostrils, and wrapped the whole thing in many strands of beads. These were never removed even when he was curing. When curing, Haičača dipped the falcon head in water and ran his hands over it. Then he laid it down and rubbed his hands over his patient. This was used on one case, then was useless until he dreamed of Falcon again.

He had an eagle head similarly prepared [237] with which he cured J.P.'s back.

He had a long bear claw (Bear was his family totem), which he used to cure a woman in 755 labor. It was used like the falcon head. He 845 also blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Kneeling before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come."

755 Haičača did not sing when curing: he conversed prayerfully with his supernatural helpers (ainːč) and to Water which was helping him. Since the water he used was obtained at Gutsnumi, he addressed it as "Gutsnum." Water was [776 a powerful helper. At Gutsnumi there was an 823] underwater person who was adverse to strangers swimming there and pulled them under. Like eagle down, Water was a general assistant in supernatural matters and to dream of it was a propitious indication of its willingness to help one, yet it was not a tutelary in quite the same sense, not so personified perhaps, as a flesh-and-blood creature like Cougar, Eagle, Owl, etc.

Miscellaneous Powers

754 Contagious magic.--While the practice of 789 contagious magic was not developed, it was clearly recognized, and Wukchumni took precautions against leaving their hair, saliva, discarded clothing, etc., available to malicious shamans. S.G. denied the practice to the Wukchumni, saying that they left their hair and soiled clothing wherever they wished; he attributed the evil to "southerners." It is difficult in cases described, to distinguish between this idea and that of poisoning, and I am not sure that a difference exists, save that in poisoning an actual contact between the person and the poisoned object seems to be necessary. In either event some very personal possession of the intended victim, such as hair combings, or a piece of dress, is treated with some virulent material or "poison." Whether the

[P. 166 b] Kechayi

After the birth occurred, the
846 mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´mɨn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu´kɨn) for two months.

[843] The father was not under any tabus during pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

[84] There was no separate hut for birth or
343 menses.

At the time of birth a girl's own mother
844 or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this
[237] point). A bear claw was soaked in water and the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier.
[616] A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam-
[823] shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

854 When the baby was born its paternal grand-
[603] father brought the first cradle (bi´ɨč), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65]
[553] The baby remained on this for two months, at the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ahɨ´lɨč), and the mother was cleansed.

846 When the navel stump fell off it was put in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the
[856 child left the cradle, the stump was removed from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree
789] so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 At the end of two months the baby was put on its second cradle, and received a name
553 selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

844 The food and working tabus for both parents were observed only for the first child.
846 But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

● 845 Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the genealogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on the male line.

[611]

[P. 167 a] Kechayi

845 could see the newborn twins they had to give the parents a bit of money, to be kept for the infants, "to make them strong." If one twin died, the other was sure to die soon too. However, twins were t:pni and had supernatural power if they lived to adult life. E.M. could give no idea of how this power was manifest.

Childhood

867 The training of children "just came natu-
868 ral." Girls and boys both played at activities which later became duties. Boys were given verbal instructions in the sweat house, but this was entirely informal: there was no puberty rite for boys. There was no defined "first entrance" into the sweat house; boys hung around it, played in it "until they got chased out" [by men going to sweat], and remained to sweat when they were "old enough to stand it" [fifteen to eighteen years]. The verbal instructions, given by older men, told them how to be good to their wives, to abjure intercourse during menstruation, to have a home of their own and not live with their parents-in-law, and how to respect and deal with the supernatural.

Puberty

881 A puberty ceremony (nahalaoša) was given for a girl at her first menses. There was no separate menstrual hut. The girl did no cooking, ate no meat, and used a scratching stick on her head as "her fingers were hot and her hair would fall out if she touched it." Otherwise her life was as usual. At the first menses these tabus held over a two-month period; thereafter they were observed each month for six days at the end of which the girl bathed and ate meat.

881 The actual puberty ceremony, which was
584 looked upon as a betrothal ceremony, a declaration of intentions by both families concerned, was made by a boy's mother. The parents had previously reached an agreement in the matter.

On the first new moon following the two-month tabu period, the prospective mother-in-law brought a ceremonial washing basket, new clothes, and beads to the girl's home, where she washed and clothed the girl. Then the official spokesman (yate':č) made a speech saying that this girl "had come out all right, she was going to be healthy." Everyone in the village came to call on the girl and eat a little meat with her. The food for this was supplied by the boy's parents.

Marriage

584 When parents of a boy and girl had agreed that they wanted to become coparents-in-law

[P. 192 b] Chuckchansi

847
278 medicine. A shaman's help was never sought for abortion.

844 Some women had a child every year. Of
163 twelve or thirteen births only "one, maybe six,
165 maybe nine" would live to become adults. Some died in infancy, a disaster blamed on evil shamans.

842 There were few cases of sterility: "most people who married had children; some didn't."

844 Birth took place in the dwelling, not in a special structure, said N.W. Normally, the woman's mother and sister or an aunt helped her; her mother-in-law might also do so. No men nor childless women were allowed in a house where a birth was taking place. [The birth procedure was not described.]

845 If parturition was difficult, scrapings
278 from a bear's claw were put in water for the
237 woman to drink, and the decoction was also rubbed on her head and hands. N.W. said this was "better than a doctor." It was a common practice; the scrapings might be got at any time from someone who had killed a bear and would then be kept on hand for use as needed. J.R. said that when a bear was killed some man, not a shaman, would get a claw. He would keep it, hang it up to dry, until it was needed to help some woman in childbirth. If labor was unduly delayed, the claw would be got, scraped into a basket of water. The parturient drank this decoction, and immediately the baby came. It was thought that the bear-claw drink so frightened the infant that it came out at once. This medicine was never used for any other purpose.

Another method to help difficult labor was to hold scorched whippoorwill feathers (wul'wul, whippoorwill) under the woman's nose.[119]

844 The baby was bathed at once in wormwood
278 water. The first cradle was not ready, but was started as soon as the paternal grandmother got the baby's size. The cradle-making took about three days. The umbilical cord was buried.[120]

842 Naming.--"It was one year or so, sometimes
163 longer, before a young couple had their first baby. There were more children then [in old times] than now," said N.W. Neither sex was preferred.

553 The infant was named shortly after birth,
852 according to N.W., and kept that name throughout life. The paternal grandmother usually selected the name, which would be one from the father's side of the family. If the person for

[824]

[119]The bird, later identified as whippoorwill, was described as follows. "It is a brown bird a little smaller than a pigeon, but with a big mouth. The color is like dirt; you don't see it. It swallowed a deer once. It is speckled white, just a little. It has short legs. When it flies it makes a noise like wal-will (ʷɑɻɻ). It doesn't make a whirring noise with its wings when it starts to fly but is silent like other birds. It flies in the evening, not much in the day. It has black legs and beak. It stands 5 inches or so tall."

[120]Kroeber, Handbook, 499.

W Y 844 waist and over the abdomen, and gave her a cup of hot medicine made by boiling kičena ʻošaʻ[170] in water.

In case of difficult birth a shaman was W Y called. He talked to his supernatural helper, pressed his patient's belly, rubbed it with his 245 talisman and blew on it. No singing, dancing, 755 cutting, or sucking was done. Usually a woman called on her own supernatural helper on such occasions: it was chiefly for such purposes that women sought power. Informant D. referred to the Wukchumni M.L.'s power in aiding childbirths.

W Y The shaman was the only man present. The husband, at the time of delivery, moved out to sleep at the sweat house and have his meals 844 with some relatives until his wife had her cleansing ritual. Some men observed a meat tabu during this time.

At the birth of the child the midwife cut its cord (dos) with a section of split cane (kadkʻid) and tied the stump with milkweed string. The afterbirth was buried; it was never put in water or in an anthill.[171] The baby was bathed at once in warm water. It was then wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and bound W to a forked-stick cradle (akhʻaʻlaš). The use Y of a soft mattress-cradle was denied by D., as [853] was the use of shredded bark, moss, or any other type of diaper.

The navel stump came off in three to six W (theoretically six) days. It was put in a bead- Y decorated skin case and hung on the cradle hood for the infant to play with. If the stump were 846 not kept, the baby would crawl around on the [856] ground searching for it and would never learn [777] to walk. It was preserved throughout life "for [237] good luck."

A hot bed of stones and ashes had been prepared for the mother in her own house and on this she lay, covered with deer and rabbitskin blankets for six days. She lay on her back (D.). Each day, either in the morning or evening, she W steamed the vaginal tract. Brake fern (toʻoʻdi) Y was boiled in a big basket of water. The woman [824] sat on the edge of a log, or on a stick resting between two forked stakes, with the steaming basket between her legs. She covered herself and the basket with deer and rabbitskin blankets, and remained until the steam was exhausted. The process of steaming was called teʻʻenaʻošita, and was not used for any other purpose by anyone (D.).

For six days, while on the hot pit, the mother drank copiously of hot water and acorn gruel, her only sustenance. After that she ate seed and acorn mushes but kept the meat tabu for three months, when her cleansing ritual took place. A woman who failed to observe the

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[170] A tall plant with purple blossoms growing abundantly in the mountains.

[171] But D. said the Yaudanchi put the afterbirth in an anthill; and had heard of others who did.